

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 IO-13 AID-05 IGA-02 EUR-12 ARAE-00 TRSE-00  
/090 W

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P R 161910Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0591  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO  
AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 2075

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, MASS, BR, US  
SUBJ: PRESS AND OFFICIAL REACTION TO US-BRAZIL DISPUTE ON HUMAN  
RIGHTS (MARCH 15)

REF: SAO PAULO 0584 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: ALL MAJOR PAPERS CARRIED PURPORTED FULL TEXT  
OF USG HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON BRAZIL, WITH TWO REOLYING  
ON INCORRECT PRELIMINARY VERSION PUBLISHED MARCH 14 BY MAGAZINE  
VEJA, WHILE O ESTADO COMMITTED SEVERAL SERIOUS ERRORS  
IN TRANSLATING CORRECT TEXT. PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SPOKESMAN  
CAMARGO INDICATED GOB WOULD NOT REACT TO US RELEASE, AND  
SAW NO REASON FOR REPLY TO CONTENT OF REPORT. AIR  
MINISTER ARARIPE MACEDO STATED GOB WOULD NOT TURN TO "EXOTIC  
COUNTRIES" FOR WEAPONS. PRESS ATTENTION WAS GIVEN FRENCH  
EMBASSY AWARDS CEREMONY FOR HIGH GOB OFFICIALS AND  
EXPRESSIONS OF MUTUAL GOOD WILL. TWO MORE MDB LEGISLATORS  
LAUDED CARTER CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. EDITORIAL COMMENT  
WAS MIX OF CRITICISM OF GOB, CRITICISM OF REPORT, AND  
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HOPE FOR CONTINUED STABLE RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. ALL MAJOR PAPERS MARCH 15 REPORTED RELEASE OF HUMAN  
RIGHTS DOCUMENT IN US AND CARRIED PURPORTED FULL TEXTS.  
JORNAL DO BRASIL AND O GLOBO TRANSCRIPTS WERE BASED ON  
SAME PRELIMINARY DRAFT PUBLISHED MARCH 14 BY MAGAZINE  
VEJA, WHICH IS SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM FINAL

VERSION, WHILE FOLHA DE SAO PAULO AND O ESTADO CARRIED CORRECT TEXT. O ESTADO PIECE, HOWEVER, INCLUDED SEVERAL SERIOUS ERRORS OF TRANSLATION, TWO OF WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT: (1) FIRST SENTENCE UNDER "B. OTHER IMPORTANT FREEDOMS," WHICH STATES THAT GOB OFFICIALLY DISCOURAGES DISCRIMINATION, HAS BEEN TRANSLATED AS, "THE BRAZILIAN GOVERNMENT, OFFICIALLY, DOES NOT STIMULATE DISCRIMINATION....," RESULTING IN POSSIBLE IMPLICATION TO CONTRARY; AND (2) PHRASE UNDER ARTICLE 10, "FAIR HEARINGS BY IMPARTIAL TRIBUNALS ARE NOT CONSISTENTLY AVAILABLE TO POLITICAL DETAINEES," HAS BEEN TRANSLATED INTO NEARLY OPPOSITE SENSE THAT FAIR TRIALS ARE "GENERALL NOT AVAILABLE...." (RESULT IS FURTHER PROPAGATION OF SIMILAR (ERRONEOUS) CONCLUSION CONTAINED IN WIDESPREAD VEJA VERSION.)

3. FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA DECLINED COMMENT ON RELEASE OF REPORT. PRESIDENTIAL PRESS SPOKESMAN CAMARGO DECLARED BRAZIL WOULD HAVE NO RESPONSE TO US RELEASE AND STUBBORNLY RESISTED JOURNALISTS' QUESTIONS LEADING IN THAT DIRECTION. HE ALSO SAW NO NECESSITY FOR GOB TO REPLY TO SUBSTANCE OF REPORT, SINCE "EVERY ENLIGHTENED BRAZILIAN OF GOOD SENSE WILL KNOW HOW TO READ IT AND DRAW HIS CONCLUSIONS." CAMARGO INDICATED THAT BASIS FOR PAST GOB ACTIONS WAS NOT CONTENT OF REPORT PER SE, BUT ISSUE OF INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND LINKAGE OF REPORT TO MILITARY ASSISTANCE. HE ADDED THAT RELEASE OF THE REPORT HAD BEEN EXPECTED BY GOB.

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4. SIDNEI BASILE, BRASILIA BUREAU CHIEF OF GAZETA MERCANTIL, TOLD EMBOFF MARCH 14 THAT HE WAS INFORMED GOB'S TACTIC WOULD BE NOT TO REACT TO RELEASE OF REPORT UNLESS ONE OF BRANCHES OF USG, FOR INSTANCE "A CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE OR EXECUTIVE BRANCH SPOKESMAN," PRESUMES TO REVIEW REPORT AND MAKE JUDGMENTS ON IT. JUDGMENTS RENDERED BY INDIVIDUAL CONGRESSMEN ACTING ON THEIR OWN, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT PROVOKE "REPRISALS." GAZETA'S ASSISTANT EDITOR IN CONVERSATION WITH SAO PAULO CONGENOFF SAID EPISODE HAS BEEN NET PLUS FOR BRAZILIAN PUBLIC OPINION. HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BEEN A DELICATE ISSUE FOR NEWSPAPERS TO HANDLE. NOW IT IS FRONT PAGE MATERIAL AND DISCUSSION IS TURNING TO HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES BRAZIL SHOULD FOLLOW. OTHER NEWS SOURCES HAVE MADE SIMILAR COMMENTS TO CONGENOFFS, STATING THAT THEY ARE ENJOYING ABILITY TO AIR OPINIONS ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES AND PRACTICES.

5. IN MARCH 14 SPEECH ON ENERGY ISSUES AND NUCLEAR

ACCORD TO AIR FORCE COMMAND AND GENERAL STAFF SCHOOL, AIR FORCE MINISTER ARARIPE MACEDO CRITICIZED LACK OF US TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER TO BRAZIL, PARTICULARLY AS REGARDS ANGRA I AND II; PRAISED FRG-GOB NUCLEAR ACCORD; AND ATTRIBUTED HUMAN RIGHTS CRITICISMS TO EFFORT AT PRESERVING "COMMERCIAL MONOPOLIES." IN EARLIER COMMENTS TO PRESS, MACEDO RULED OUT POSSIBILITY OF BRAZIL'S SEEKING ARMS FROM "EXOTIC COUNTRIES" DECLARING THAT THERE WERE WEST EUROPEAN SOURCES AVAILABLE.

6. FIRST ARMY COMMANDER GEN. RABELLO CALLED FOR UNITY IN THE SEARCH FOR "BRAZILIAN SOLUTIONS TO BRAZILIAN PROBLEMS" IN ALL AREAS, WITHOUT IMPORTS OR COPIES. HE DECLARED THAT END OF MILITARY ACCORD WILL NOT AFFECT BRAZILIAN SECURITY, CITING NON-USE OF US CREDITS IN RECENT YEARS, RISE OF INDIGENOUS ARMS PRODUCTION, AND RECENT PREDOMINANCE OF NON-US SOURCES FOR FOREIGN  
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PURCHASES.

7. PRESS GAVE RESPECTABLE COVERAGE TO MARCH 14 FRENCH EMBASSY AWARDS CEREMONY DECORATING NAVY MINISTER HENNING, HEALTH MINISTER MACHADO, FORMER ARMED FORCES GENERAL STAFF (EMFA) CHIEF GENERAL CORREIA, AND SEVERAL OTHERS. ATTENDEES INCLUDED FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA, ARMY MINISTER FROTA, AND EMFA CHIEF GEN. FRITZ MANZO. OCCASION PROVIDED OPPORTUNITY FOR MUTUAL EXPRESSIONS OF TRADITIONAL FRIENDSHIP AND PROSPECTS FOR MUTUAL COOPERATION, WHICH WERE SLIGHTLY POINTED ON THE BRAZILIAN SIDE.

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P R 161910Z MAR 77  
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0592  
INFO AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 2075

8. SENATE MAJORITY LEADER ERICO RESENDE (ARENA) AFFIRMED THAT THERE ALWAYS WERE AND WILL BE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN BRAZIL, AS EVERYWHERE, BUT WITHOUT THE DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EXECUTIVE, WHICH IN BRAZIL HAS ACTED TO PUNISH ABUSES BY LOWER LEVEL OFFICIALS. "IF THE REPORT DOESN'T CONTAIN THE NAME OF BRAZIL, IT PICTURES A REALITY," HE SAID, "AND IF IT CONTAINS THE NAME OF OUR COUNTRY, IT REFLECTS AN UNTRUTH." RESENDE WENT ON TO DEFEND IA-5, WHICH HE SAID WAS NOT A HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION, BUT A MEANS OF DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE NATION AND SOCIETY AGAINST SUBVERSION.

9. MDB VICE LEADER DEPUTY JOAQUIM BEVILACQUA SAID BRAZIL IS OBLIATED TO DEMONSTRATE TO ITSELF AND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT IT MEETS ITS COMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS OBLIGATIONS (INCLUDING UNIVERSAL DECLARATION ON HUMAN RIGHTS), AND DECLARED THAT FIRST STEP SHOULD BE GOVERNMENT'S REACTIVATION OF BRAZILIAN COUNCIL FOR DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. BEVILACQUA CITED SUPPORT FOR GEASEL IN CONFRONTATION  
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WITH US AND CRITICIZED ONE COUNTRY'S SELF-ASSUMED PROSECUTOR ROLE, BUT PRAISED JIMMY CARTER'S EFFORTS TO PROMOTE HUMAN RIGHTS AND SUGGESTED PROPER FORUM FOR CRITICISM WOULD BE UN, WHERE CARTER COULD CRITICIZE BRAZILIAN ABUSES, AND AT THE SAME TIME RECEIVE CRITICISM FOR VIETNAM, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI. MDB SENATOR EVANDRO CARREIRA (AMAZONAS) ANNOUNCED SUPPORT FOR CARTER POLICY OF UNIVERSAL DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DECLARED HE WOULD DELIVER A SPEECH TODAY (MARCH 15) DEFENDING IT. MDB DEPUTY WALTER SILVA (RIO) SAID REPORT WAS MILD, BUT REPRESENTED INTERFERENCE, AS HAD MILITARY ACCORD ITSELF; NONETHELESS, HE LAMENTED CONTINUED LOCAL ABUSES WHICH GAVE SOME REASON FOR US "ATTACKS."

9. EDITORIAL COMMENT WAS MIXED. CORREIO BRAZILIENSE PRAISED BRAZILIAN DIPLOMACY, STATING THAT CONTRARY TO THOSE ANALYSTS WHO SAW CANCELLATION OF MILITARY ACCORD

AS REPLY TO US PRESSURES ON NUCLEAR ACCORD, FONMIN KNEW HOW TO SEPARATE ROUTINE MILITARY INTERESTS FROM HIGHER INTERESTS OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. MILITARY ACCORD HAD BECOME OUTMODED, GIVEN BRAZILIAN PROGRESS IN ARMS MANUFACTURE, AND SHOULD THEREFORE PROVE A MINOR MATTER IN CONTEXT OF FAR WIDER MUTUAL INTERESTS WHICH WILL NOT BE DISTURBED BY A "SIMPLE EPISODE." ARTICLE CONCLUDES THAT BRAZILIAN DIPLOMACY WILL MAINTAIN ITS TRADITIONS AND NEVER SWERVE FROM DEFENSE OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND THE FULFILLMENT OF AGREEMENTS. JORNAL DO BRASIL EDITORIAL WELCOMED EARLIER DECLARATIONS OF FINANCE AND PLANNING MINISTERS THAT CURRENT DISPUTE WILL NOT LEAD TO US ECONOMIC RETALIATION, AND POINTED OUT CRITICAL ROLE OF US CREDITS AND INVESTMENTS. BRAZIL, TOO, IT SAID, PLAYS IMPORTANT ROLE FOR US INVESTORS. THUS, STABLE BILATERAL RELATIONS ARE IN MUTUAL INTEREST AND THEIR PRESERVATION SHOULD BE A GOAL OF US AND BRAZILIAN NEGOTIATORS. CONFIDENTIAL

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10. O GLOBO EDITORIAL LISTED POSITIVE POINTS IN ITS VERSION OF REPORT AND SAID DOCUMENT LEFT NO DOUBT ABOUT GEISEL'S POSITIVE EFFORTS. HOWEVER, O GLOBO CRITICIZED REPORT AS (1) ACT OF INTERFERENCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, AND (2) "EXORBITANT" IN ITS ONE-SIDED TREATMENT OF ISSUE, IGNORING PROBLEM OF SUBVERSION; ITS NARROW DEFINITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, WHICH IGNORES PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL POLICIES OF GOB; AND ITS ALLEGED USE OF AMNESTY AND OTHER "NOTORIOUSLY POLITICIZED" ORGANIZATIONS AS SOURCES OF DATA. O GLOBO ALSO SINGLED OUT FOR CRITICISM REPORT'S ALLEGED CICTENTION THAT FAIR TRIALS ARE UNAVAILABLE TO POLITICAL DETAINEES, AND POINTED TO PAST RECORD OF ACQUITTALS BY SUPERIOR MILITARY TRIBUNAL. FOLHA COLUMN SAID CURRENT REGIME HAD NO REASON FOR DISTRESS WITH US REPORT, WHICH DEMONSTRATES INTENTION TO SAFEGUARD THE EFFORTS OF GEISEL IN HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, BUT ADDED THAT ROOT OF PROBLEM IS REST OF GOVERNMENT. IF OTHER OFFICIALS

HAD FOLLOWED ATTITUDE ASCRIBED TO GEISEL, VARIOUS OCCURRENCES, WHICH ARTICLE PROCEEDS TO LIST, WOULD NOT HAVE OCCURRED. ARTICLE REFERS TO COMMENT OF UNNAMED OFFICIAL THAT DECISION TO CENSOR TV-RADIO COVERAGE OF US-BRAZIL HUMAN RIGHTS DISPUTE WAS "TACTICAL ERROR," AND PROCEEDS WITH SARCASTIC REFERENCES TO THE MANY "TACTICAL ERRORS" COMMITTED WHICH COMPROMISE THE GEISEL GOVERNMENT, CONCLUDING, "IF THEY WERE NOT THE STRATEGY, IT WOULD BE PRAISEWORTHY."

11. O ESTADO LONDON CORRESPONDENT HERMANO ALVES REPORTED

THAT BRAZILIAN DENUNCIATION OF MILITARY ACCORD CAUSED SURPRISE IN EUROPEAN POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES, AND WAS VIEWED AS OVERREACTION, WHICH IS NOW RAISING SPECULATION OVER MOTIVES. EUROPEANS ARE SAID TO BELIEVE THAT GOB COULD NOT HAVE BEEN UNAWARE OF US LEGISLATION REQUIRING REPORT. ACCORDING TO ALVES, POSSIBLE REASONS  
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BEING ADVANCED FOR GOB ACTION INCLUDE (A) PRESSURE ON GEISEL BY MILITARY HARDLINERS OPPOSED TO LIBERALIZATION, AND (B) EFFORT BY GEISEL TO CAPITALIZE ON NATIONALISM TO CONTAIN HARDLINERS AS WELL AS TO PREPARE PUBLIC OPINION FOR EXPECTED INCREASE IN US-BRAZILIAN TENSIONS OVER NUCLEAR ACCORD; USE OF A FOREIGN "ENEMY" TO GENERATE DOMESTIC SUPPORT IN TIME OF DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES; AND/OR ATTEMPT TO CONTAIN OR DISORGANIZE MDB. REPORT ON BRAZIL, SAYS ALVES, IS VIEWED AS MILD, ESPECIALLY WHEN COMPARED TO AMNESTY AND ICJ INDICTMENTS, AND MANY OTHER COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN CRITICIZED WITHOUT REACTING IN BRAZILIAN MANNER. MDB POSITION CONDEMNING REPORT AS INTERNAL INTERFERENCE HAS ALSO CAUSED SURPRISE AMONG EUROPEANS, SAYS ALVES, SINCE PARTY HAD OFTEN CITED FOREIGN CRITICISM AND BRAZIL'S IMAGE ABROAD AS ARGUMENT IN BEHALF OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIC IMPROVEMENTS. THIS ATTITUDE AND THAT OF GOB ITSELF "CURIOUSLY" RESEMBLE PROTESTS BY CUBA AND USSR OVER CARTER COMMENTS ON THEIR PRACTICES. ALVES CONCLUDES THAT THERE ARE SIGNS GOB DIDN'T FULLY UNDERSTAND DEPTH OF HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN US AND EUROPE, BUT THAT THIS MOVEMENT IS HERE TO STAY.  
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## Message Attributes

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